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A CENTENNIAL FOURTH OF JULY DEMOCRATIC CELEBRATION.

THE MASSACRE OF SIX COLORED CITIZENS

Of the United States at Hamburgh, S. C., on July 4, 1876.

DEBATE ON THE HAMBURGH MASSACRE, IN THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JULY 15th and 18th, 1876.

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The House of Representatives being in committee of the whole on the bill for the protection by United States troops of the Texas frontier:

Mr. SMALLS. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Add to the first section the following:

Provided, That no troops for the purposes named in this section shall be drawn from the State of South Carolina so long as the militia of that State peaceably assembled are assaulted, disarmed, and taken prisoners, and then massacred in cold blood by lawless bands of men invading that State from the State of Georgia.

Mr. SMALLS. I hope the House will adopt that proviso as an amendment to the bill. As I have only five minutes I send to the desk a letter published in one of the newspapers here from an eye-witness of the massacre at Hamburg, and I ask the Clerk to read it.

The Clerk read as follows:

The origin of the difficulty, as I learn from the best and most reliable authority, is as follows: On the Fourth of July the colored people of the town were engaged in celebrating the day, and part of the celebration consisted in the parade of the colored militia company. After marching through the principal streets of the town, the company came to a halt across one of the roads leading out of the town. While resting there two white men drove up in a buggy, and with curses ordered the company to break ranks and let them pass through. The captain of the company replied that there was plenty of room on either side of the company, and they could pass that way. The white men continued cursing and refused to turn out. So the captain of the militia, to avoid difficulty, ordered his men to break ranks and permit the buggy to pass through.

Mr. SCHLEICHER. I rise to a point of order. I wish to know if this proposition is germane to the bill.

Several MEMBERS. Too late.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair desires to say that it strikes him as being as germane as other propositions which have been generally entertained to make it allowable.

The Clerk continued the reading of the letter, as follows:

The order was obeyed, and the white men went on their way uttering threats. The next day a colored trial justice issued processes against the officers of the company, based on the complaint of the two white men, citing the officers to appear and answer to a charge of obstructing the public highway. They obeyed the writs, and after a slight examination the justice adjourned the trial until Saturday, the 8th instant. On that day, at an early hour, the town commenced to fill up with white men, armed to the teeth with repeating rifles and revolvers. The colored people had no idea of the bloody tragedy which was soon to take place, and consequently made no preparation to resist an attack, and were almost defenseless.

Late in the afternoon Gen. M. C. Butler, one of the most malignant of the unreconstructed rebels, rode into the town, accompanied by a score of well-armed white men, and stated to the leading colored men that he came for the purpose of prosecuting the case on the part of the two white men, and he demanded that the militia company should give up their arms and also surrender their officers. This demand the militia was ready to comply with for the purpose of avoiding a difficulty if General Butler would guarantee them entire safety from molestation by the crowd of white desperadoes. This Butler refused to do, and persisted in his demand for the surrender of the guns and the officers, and threatened that if the surrender was not immediately made he would take the guns and officers by force of arms. This threat aroused the militia company to a realizing sense of their impending danger, and they at once repaired to a large brick building, some two hundred yards from the river, used by them as an armory, and there took refuge. They numbered in all about forty men and had a very small quantity of ammunition. During this time, while the militia were taking refuge in their armory the white desperadoes were coming into the town in large numbers, not only from the adjacent county of Edgefield, but also from the city of Augusta, Georgia, until they numbered over fifteen hundred well-armed and ruffianly men, who were under the immediate command and direction of the ex-rebel chief, M. C. Butler. After the entire force had arrived, the building where the militia had taken refuge was entirely surrounded and a brisk fire opened upon it. This fire was kept up for some two hours, when, finding that the militia could not be dislodged by small arms, a messenger was sent to Augusta for artillery. During all this time not a shot had been fired by the militiamen. The artillery arrived and was posted on the bank of the river and opened fire on the building with grape and canister.

Mr. SCHLEICHER. I rise to a question of order. If this be read as a part of the gentleman's remarks, is he not subject to the five-minutes rule?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina was recognized at thirty-two minutes past three o'clock. There is still half a minute remaining.

Mr. TOWNSEND, of New York. I hope the paper will be read through.

The Clerk resumed the reading of the paper, as follows:

The militia now realized that it was necessary to evacuate the armory at once. They proceeded to do so, getting out of a back window into a corn-

field. They were soon discovered by the ruffians, and a rush was made for them. Fortunately, by hiding and hard fighting, a portion of the command escaped, but twenty-one were captured by the bushwhackers and taken immediately to a place near the railroad station.

Here a quasi drumhead court martial was organized by the blood-hunters, and the last scene of the horrible drama began. It must now be remembered that not one of the twenty-one colored men had a pistol or gun about them. The moment they were captured their arms were taken from them, and they were absolutely defenseless. The orderly sergeant of the militia company was ordered to call the roll, and the first name called out to be shot in cold blood was Allan T. Attaway, the first lieutenant of the company, and holding the position of county commissioner of Aiken county, in which county Hamburg is situated. He pleaded for his life, as only one in his position could plead, but his pleadings were met with curses and blows, and he was taken from the sight of his comrades, and a file of twelve men fired upon him. He was penetrated by four balls, one entering his brain and the other three the lower portion of his body. He was instantly killed, and after he was dead the brutes in human shape struck him over the head with their guns and stabbed him in the face with their bayonets. Three other men were treated in the same brutal manner. The fifth man when taken out made a dash for his life, and luckily escaped with only a slight wound in his leg.

In another portion of the town the chief of police, a colored man named James Cook, was taken from his house, and while begging for his life brutally murdered. Not satisfied with this, the inhuman fiends beat him over the head with their muskets and cut out his tongue.

Another colored man, one of the marshals of the town, surrendered and was immediately shot through the body and mortally wounded. He has since died. So far as I have been able to learn only one white man was killed. It will thus be seen that six colored men were brutally murdered and one wounded, while on the side of the whites only one man was killed.

After this holocaust of blood was over the desperadoes in large bodies entered the houses of most of the prominent colored men of the town and completely gutted them. They stole all they possibly could, and what they could not steal they destroyed. Furniture was smashed, books torn to pieces, pictures cut from their frames, and everything that could be destroyed was given up to the demon of destruction. Such scenes my eyes have never before witnessed, and the distress and suffering among the poor colored people was heartrending to behold. The town is desolate, and the inhabitants have taken refuge in Aiken, Columbia, and other points. The civil authorities are powerless or too negligent to do anything, and peace and order cannot be preserved unless United States troops are sent to this point at once.

The scenes during the massacre were fearful to behold—the moon shining down upon the horrid scene, lighting up the whole with a ghastly light; the popping of the small arms; the screams of frightened women and terrified children; the loud reports from the artillery, all tended to make a scene terrible and more than fearful to behold. And now what was the provocation given for this hellish slaughter? The answer is, nothing. Legally the militia had the right of way over the public road. The day was the nation's holiday. The militia had a perfect right to parade, and vehicles of all kinds were required to keep out of their way, and not interfere with their marching. Again, General Butler had not the shadow of a right to demand the arms of the militia. They were organized under the constitution and laws of the State, and were part and parcel of the armed force of the Commonwealth. No private citizen had the slightest right to molest them. Such molestation was a direct blow at the power and authority of the State. It was a revolutionary step, and should be thus punished.

Are the Southern colored citizens to be protected, or are they to be left at the mercy of such ruffians as massacred the poor men of Hamburgh? The murdered Attaway was a man of considerable prominence in the Republican party of the county, office, and was well thought of by many people. The other murdered men were good citizens and have never been known to infringe the law. The whole affair was a well and secretly planned scheme to destroy all of the leading Republicans of the county of Aiken living in Hamburgh. M. C. Butler, who lost a leg while fighting in the ranks of the rebels, and who is to-day the bitterest of Ku-Klux Democrats, was the instigator of the whole affair and the blood-thirsty leader of the massacre. He boasted in Hamburgh during the fight that that was only the beginning; that the end would not be until after the elections in November. Such a man should be dealt with without pity or without hesitation. The United States Government is not powerless, and surely she will not be silent in an emergency like this, the parallel of which pen cannot describe. In this Centennial year, will she stand idly by and see her soil stained with the blood of defenseless citizens, and witness the bitter tears of women and children falling upon the murdered bodies of their loved ones? God forbid that such an attitude will be assumed toward the colored people of the South by the "best Government the world ever saw." Something must be done, and that quickly, or South Carolina will shed tears of blood and her limbs be shackeled by Democratic chains.

What I have written in this letter are facts which I vouch for entirely, and are not distorted in any degree. It's a "plain, unvarnished" narration of painful and horrible truths.

Mr. HILL. Read the name attached to the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair understands there is no name given.

Mr. HILL. Who is the author of the letter?

Mr. GUNTER. I call for the date of that paper and the name attached to it.

Mr. CONGER. I believe my time has not expired.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman's time has not expired.

Mr. DOUGLASS. I call for the reading of the name of the author of the letter.

Mr. CONGER. I claim the floor for the balance of my time.

Mr. COCHRANE. Before this matter is concluded, I desire to know whether there is any name attached to that communication.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk informs the Chair that there is only a *non de plume* attached.

Mr. COCHRANE. I understand that the name attached to that communication is erased. I ask the gentleman from South Carolina Mr. [Smalls] whether he erased the name?

Mr. CONGER. I hope that all this will not be taken out of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Conger] has five full minutes of sixty seconds each.

Mr. CONGER. Then I yield five minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. Smalls.]

Mr. SMALLS. This is a letter written by a gentleman who was an eye-witness of this transaction to me, and I, sir, had that letter published in the paper. I am responsible for the name.

Mr. COCHRANE. Whose name is it? Who wrote that letter?

Mr. SMALLS. I will say to the gentleman if he is desirous that the name shall

be given in order to have another negro killed, he will not get it from me. (Applause.)

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. I ask the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CONGER] to yield me two minutes.

Mr. CONGER. I have already yielded five to the gentleman form South Carolina, [Mr. SMALLS.]

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from South Carolina wish to occupy the rest of the five minutes?

Mr. SMALLS. I do not.

Mr. CONGER. Then I resume the floor.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan has three and a half minutes of his time remaining.

Mr. CONGER. When an amendment was before the committee to increase the regiments without any reference to the action of the House in reducing the army, I made a suggestion to the House that that proposition would draw from other cavalry regiments a large portion of their quotas and leave them with a very diminished number of men. The amendment that is offered here is a very simple and a very proper one and in accordance with the amendment which was last under consideration. It is that, in portions of the United States, where the lives and property of the citizens are alleged to be invaded, where it is alleged that property is taken and life taken by riotous men, in regions of country where troops are as necessary to protect them as they are necessary to protect our citizens on the borders of Texas, notwithstanding this resolution which we propose to pass, troops shall not be taken from those regions where their presence is equally necessary for the protection of the life of the citizen and the protection of his property.

I venture to say there is no man on this floor that dare rise in the presence of the American people to oppose this amendment, and I challenge any man to it; not alone on account of the statements in that communication, of the truth or falsity of which I do not now speak, but from the common knowledge which every one has of the events in the State of South Carolina. From facts universally acknowledged I venture to say that the same spirit which will induce every member of this committee and every member of this Congress to raise his voice and his hand in defense and protection of the citizens of the country would palsy the hand that would be raised to oppose the extension of that protection to one portion of the United States where the same necessity for protection exists.

Sir, I believe that the cutting down of the army was the result of a determination on the part of some men somewhere to prevent troops being sent into States where lawless men take the lives of peaceable citizens. I just charge that as the attempt inaugurated in this House and carried out, I regret to say, with the assent of men who never ought to have given it their assent.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I would ask the gentleman if he has any member in his eye or in his mind whom he pictures as that man?

Mr. CONGER. I charge that the natural and inevitable result of that reduction must be to leave the army so small that with the Indian war upon our hands and the necessity of protecting the Texas border there would be no forces to be sent into other portions of our country where the presence of an army is eminently desirable and necessary.

(Here the hammer fell.)

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, I understand that this town of Hamburgh is immediately opposite Augusta, in the State of Georgia, across the river. The town of Hamburgh is mostly made up of a colored population. It has a colored magistrate or intendant. It has moreover a colored militia company. This trouble occurred in the first place, as I understand authentically, by the killing of a white man. That was the beginning of it. Afterward the negroes intrenched themselves in a house and they were driven out from it. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HARTRIDGE] has a letter, which he will read here, and which will explain the whole matter. It is from a gentleman who has been inculpated on the other side. I do not take the statement which has been read as absolute verity. It has no name attached to it. It is indorsed, indeed, by the member from South Carolina opposite as being authentic; but who indorses the gentleman? (Cries of "O! ah!" from the Republican side of the House.)

Mr. RAINEY. A large constituency do.

Mr. SMALLS. A majority of 13,000.

Mr. COX. Thirteen thousand people may indorse the gentleman, yet he comes here with all the prejudice belonging to his race, and he will admit that much himself.

Mr. SMALLS. No, sir; I will not admit it.

Mr. COX. Now wait until I get through. These gentlemen from South Carolina have had read a statement which is anonymous, and they ask legislation based upon it. And then the gentleman from Michigan rises here and challenges every member in this House to vote against that proposition if he dare, because of the condition of the army. Sir, it becomes us not only to inquire into the basis of the letter which has been read here, but into the basis of the statement of the gentleman who indorsed it. Now I do not impugn the gentleman's veracity at all when I say that he may speak from hearsay, and that, not having been on the ground himself, he may have had partial accounts of the subject. Does he understand me? And, if so, why this unnecessary clap-trap on the other side of the House?

Now the gentleman from Michigan has another motive. This letter was intended

to be shaken into the face of the House for political and bad party purposes, for the gentleman knows that in the distribution of the army there is strength enough in the South to protect every one to whom protection in the South is due.

Mr. HILL. The Hamburgh riot was got up for that express purpose.

Mr. COX. I have no doubt of it. The State of Georgia is not touched by this matter, but is entirely innocent in regard to it.

Mr. RAINEY rose.

Mr. COX. The gentleman must wait until I get through. The State of South Carolina is to-day a Republican State and the worst governed State in the Union; it is bad all around; bad at its borders; bad in its heart; bad on the sea-coast; bad in Edgefield county; everywhere rotten to the core, as your own party papers have said. Give South Carolina a Democratic government and fair play as has been the case in Tennessee, Virginia, and other States which have been rescued from mal-administration, and you will see that every man, black and white, will be cared for under the law.

Mr. GARFIELD, (in his seat.) As they were at Hamburgh.

Mr. JONES, of Ky. Sir, as far as M. C. Butler is concerned, to call him a Ku-Klux would be an insult to the most honorable blood in America. I have known his family all my life. They have been in every war of this country from the Revolution down. They have been distinguished soldiers, heroes, and statesmen, as he is one to-day. He was a gallant and brilliant officer in the confederate army from the firing of the first gun of the war to the last; and when the war ended he surrendered like a soldier and a hero, and he has behaved himself as a soldier and a hero ever since. He was one of six or seven brothers who went to the front, and I believe but three survived the conflict. In addition to the noble Butler blood which runs through his veins, he inherits through his venerated mother, whom I well knew, the blood of the gallant Commodore Perry, of Lake Erie fame. He has been eminently conservative and loyal ever since he surrendered his sword.

Why, sir, the conservative party in South Carolina five years ago sent here to have his disabilities removed. They were removed at my instance; and they ran him for lieutenant-governor upon the conservative ticket with R. B. Carpenter, who went from Kentucky into South Carolina, and who was always a most loyal Union man.

Mr. BUCKNER rose.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. I will not allow myself to be interrupted. Sir, if there be a man in the Union whom we can recognize as the proud chevalier—*sans peur et sans reproche*—it is M. C. Butler, of South Carolina.

I repeat that I have known him from boyhood. I knew his father and all his great uncles—all distinguished and honorable men. What is stated in that letter is literally true. I would vouch for M. C. Butler the world over.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman, no member on this floor can deprecate more heartily than myself the opening of this discussion. I had anticipated that when this Congress met its action would be such as to exercise a salutary effect upon the entire Democratic party of the country; that it would close its deliberations without agitating these questions affecting the lives and liberties of American citizens. But it appears to me that so long as the negro has a vote in this country, so long as he has a voice in this government, it is necessary that he should on every proper occasion appeal to the country in behalf of those rights.

Sir, I regret as much as any man here that outbreak at Hamburgh. I regret that the proceeding was measurably countenanced by a cavalier who has descended from noble stock—the very best that peopled the soil of Carolina. When I make this assertion I am not influenced by any partisan prejudice; I do not speak from hearsay or mere conjecture. I am sustained in what I say by the Democratic papers of South Carolina. I have in my hands the News and Courier, the leading Democratic paper of the State, which contains an article from the Augusta Chronicle and Constitutionalist, stating the very fact that General Butler went from Hamburgh across the bridge into Augusta, saw young men over there and said to them: "Things over in Hamburgh look squally; young men, we may want you over there this evening; get yourselves in readiness." The editor of this Democratic paper published in the city of Augusta, says that General Butler made use of that expression, and that those young men, fully armed and to the number of two or three hundred, went over there.

And, sir, what are we to say of brave white men who fought in the confederate army coming out in armed force to capture and subjugate forty defenceless negroes collected in a building where they could defend themselves? These men said that they were willing to surrender the few arms they had, but not until General Butler or some one else high in authority should give them assurance that their property, their liberty and their lives would be secure. Did they exact from General Butler any more than is accorded to them by the Constitution? I ask whether they had not as much right to bear arms as General Butler or anybody else? Had they menaced or threatened any one while engaged in that parade on the Fourth of July? No, sir; the whole trouble arose because a few men, inflamed

with whisky and with a determination to subdue the negro in the South, told them with threats that they must stand from across the road so that these men might be enabled to drive by unmolested.

Why, sir, just think of it! What would be thought if here in Washington City, when a military company was parading on the Fourth of July, two men should come up in a buggy and demand of the officers that the company should get out of the way, and if they did not, should at once set to work and murder the men of that military company? I ask you, citizens of the United States, would you stand it? I ask you, brave men who fought for your country's liberties long before you took part in the war of the rebellion, would you stand it? I ask you, proud Southern men who boast of your gallantry and your intelligence and your superiority to my race, would you stand it? I ask you, men of the North who sacrified your blood and treasure, who sacrificed the lives of your sons and your relatives, would you stand it? Do you, then, expect negroes to stand all this? Do you expect my race to submit meekly to continual persecution and massacre by these people in the South? Are you not going to allow us any right of self-defence? In the name of my race and my people, in the name of humanity, in the name of God, I ask you whether we are to be American citizens with all the rights and immunities of citizens or whether we are to be vassals and slaves again? I ask you to tell us whether these things are to go on, so that we may understand now and henceforth what we are to expect?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

The debate was resumed on July 18.

The CHAIRMAN. When the committee rose it had under consideration an amendment to section 1, offered by the gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. SMALLS,] which will be reported by the Clerk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That no troops for the purposes named in this section shall be drawn from the State of South Carolina so long as the militia of that State peaceably assembled are assaulted, disarmed, and taken prisoners, and then massacred in cold blood by lawless bands of men invading the State from the State of Georgia.

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Mr. COX. Here, Mr. Chairman, is one chapter in this volume devoted entirely to the State debt scoundrelism of the State government. It runs up the debt from five millions to some twenty-four or twenty-seven million dollars. But can anybody tell how much more it is, owing to the malfeasance of the officials and the various kinds of frauds that were perpetrated? There is another chapter devoted to the fraud in the expenditure of $700,000 appropriated by the Legislature to buy lands for the freedmen.

For the freedmen! If there is one thing worse than another it is a white rascal above a black rascal. All through the late experience of Congress you have seen, sir, that the worst men who have preyed upon the negroes in this country have been their white allies. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. DOUGLAS] can tell you, from his Committee on the Freedman's Bank, how $64,000 was discovered by his committee to have been robbed from soldiers, sailors, and marines; how much was stolen by your Freedman's Bank, not to speak of the Bureau. How much? At least a million and a half. Am I not correct? Did not the gentleman's committee so report?

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. COX. O, honey, sit down. (Laughter.)

Mr. RAINEY. I rose to ask the Chair a question.

Mr. COX. I did not ask you to get up. Allow me to finish.

Mr. RAINEY. I wanted to know what was the pending question before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from South Carolina?

Mr. COX. No, sir.

Mr. RAINEY. The gentleman should not raise issues that are not embraced in the pending question.

Mr. COX. I do not desire to have any collision with the gentleman. One of the colored members said the other day that I was good in everything except in being a democrat. I have always had the kind words of those gentlemen. I have never, as some gentlemen on the other side have done, called them "niggers." I did once call them colored members, for which I was called to account. I did not know how else to describe them. I believe they are to be treated under the Constitution and the law with fairness and equality. Why not? They have the same immortal souls. Some of them are better looking than some of their white *confreres* across the way. (Laughter.) I do not see why we should be all the time keeping up this race contest.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, if I may attempt to bring the committee back to good humor—I believe in what an old parson once said to a congregation in Ohio. Members of Congress and others used to go down and hear him preach; and one day, when one of my predecessors was sitting there with a gold-headed cane, and brass buttons on his blue coat, the type of a statesman of the old school, he gave this illustration: "There is the old judge; when he goes to the market-house to buy a roast of mutton, does he ask whether it be a black sheep or a white sheep? No. All he seeks to know is, is it good mutton?" So it is, said he, at the last great

day when the horn shall sound, and the question will be not "whether he was a black sheep or a white sheep, but whether it is good mutton." (Laughter.)

It may be that the great body of the black people in South Carolina belong to the category of the good sheep; but I am afraid from the testimony in this book that some of them will not go on the right side on the day of judgment. I am afraid the Good Shepherd will not provide for them.

Mr. SMALLS. Have you the book there of the city of New York? (Laughter.)

Mr. Cox. I presume that the gentleman from South Carolina, by making that remark, seeks to embarrass me in consequence of the fact that I belong to that portion of the democratic party, along with Governor Tilden and others, who drove out the rascals, as you did not in your party in South Carolina. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. TOWNSEND, of New York. Mr. Chairman, I have no time to talk about South Carolina, but—

> There is a land of pure delight
> Where saints immortal reign,

and that land is the city of New York. The population of South Carolina in 1870 was 716,500, the population of the city of New York was 942,000. The population of South Carolina was about three-fourths of that of the city of New York. The gentleman from New York who has just taken his seat [Mr. Cox] said that the republican administration are eating out the substance of South Carolina.

Now, sir, the debt of South Carolina over and above every deduction is less than $10,000,000. The debt of the city of New York over and above every deduction is $114,000,000. Who eats out the substance of the people?

But, sir, more than that. Gentlemen say that bad men with bad motives have ruined the State of South Carolina. How about William M. Tweed? He was the ruler of the city of New York in one form or another for more than twelve years. He was the ruler of New York through Tammany Hall at the time when the gentleman from Ohio brought his little "carpet-bag" to the city of New York and set it down in Tammany Hall, which was then flourishing in all its power and glory, and looked up smilingly for the approbation of William M. Tweed. (Great laughter.) While William M. Tweed ruled New York $40,000,000 was stolen from that people by Tweed and his immediate associates, and there is to-day a judgment entered against William M. Tweed for his share of the stealings which could be traced to his hands of over $6,000,000; Peter B. Sweeney, the city treasurer, stole another share; Richard B. Connolly another share; Andrew J. Garvey stole his share; and Ingersoll stole still another share of the $40,000,000, and every man of them has left this country for his country's good excepting two—Garvey, who is in State's prison, and Ingersoll, who has been pardoned out by the "reform" governor of the State of New York. But there was not only this stealing of $40,000,000 by this Tweed gang, but Thomas C. Fields, another glorious leader of Tammany, got an appropriation from the Legislature to the amount of more than $100,000 nominally for the benefit of the firemen, but he actually stole every dollar of it. Henry Genet got an act passed for a court-house in the city of New York and stole the $100,000 appropriated for the court-house, and the sheriff of New York let him run away. The present sheriff allowed William M. Tweed to go to his residence and go up stairs unattended to see his wife and allowed him thus to leave for parts unknown, and the "reform" governor of the State has not found time to investigate the outrage of letting him escape or to remove him from office, as he had the power to do. This is the party of reform and retrenchment in the city of New York from which my colleague [Mr. Cox] hails.

But, sir, we have not told the whole story yet. Tammany elected judges to protect these thieves and robbers—George G. Barnard, McCunn, and Cordozo—every one of whom was impeached and two of them convicted and one resigned. But, sir, we are not through yet. There are now some decent judges in New York and Tammany opposed every one of them, and if Tammany opposed them my colleague who sits over there talking about purity and reform voted against every one of them, for he has never found occasion to quit Tammany yet. And when Boss Tweed's successor, the noted John Kelly, came and waived his wand over him as he sat in our Speaker's chair and said to him, "Come out of that chair and go with me to Saint Louis to carry out the great farce which we have planned," and said, "We have elected our delegates, and we want you, Brother Cox, to go with me to Saint Louis in the attitude of the brother of the temperance lecturer." You know that while the one brother was lecturing on temperance the other was exhibiting himself as an awful example; and that is the part you and I will enact at Saint Louis." (Laughter.)

The gentleman went out, and he and Mr. John Kelly enacted the farce and tried to make the world believe that if they nominated Tilden they would be opposing Tammany, that notorious sink of political corruption.

Mr. GARFIELD. It is not the least sad of all the sad facts in the subject that we are now engaged in considering, that so grave an occurrence as the one which has been introduced officially by a member of this House has elicited so little attention from the majority that the whole drift of the

discussion should have been turned away into a partisan direction, and partly and mainly turned into laughter.

Now I want to state in a word what I understand to be the facts which we are called upon to consider by this amendment. A legally organized militia company, parading with arms that are legally held by them, in their own town, on the centennial Fourth of July, were accosted by two young men who demanded that the company should get out of the road; and because the whole company did not at once move out of the road for the two men who could have gone quite as well a little at one side, it was resolved by sundry persons to disarm that legally organized military company of the State; and because the company did not consent to be disarmed at the command of unauthorized persons, an organized mob, led by a distinguished gentleman who served as an officer in the war against the Union, assailed, surrounded, opened fire upon them, captured some of them, and after capture murdered in cold blood, without warrant or authority, a considerable number of American citizens. This has been stated here in the House on the official authority of the attorney general of South Carolina. The papers of the dominant party in that State and Georgia admit that the real and only ground of this outrage was the fact that the military company was composed of colored men; that colored men had used their rights as citizens to organize themselves as a part of the State militia. Now I have no doubt that there are multitudes of good men in the South, and many on the other side of this House who deeply deplore this bloody and atrocious outrage. But how has it been treated in this discussion? The first utterance was by the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Cox,] who arose in his place and declared that the negroes began the affray by killing a white man. That statement has been answered by the fact that they made no hostile demonstration until they were fired into by the mob. Again the gentleman from New York [Mr. Cox] stated that this matter was introduced here for a bad purpose, a bad motive, to stir up bad blood, and to affect the elections. And to-day we have been treated to an extreme example of his usual method. He has attempted to laugh at a group of atrocious murders. His levity was never so horribly out of place.

The only calm and thoughtful declaration which has been made on this subject on the other side of the House was by the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. HARTRIDGE,] who spoke manfully and regretfully upon the subject and suggested that we should wait until the official examination was had.

I am more troubled than by the mere fact of the murder about the symptoms that I see around me. Has it come to pass that a murder like this cannot be discussed in this House without its being charged that there is a bad motive for speaking of it? Do our northern democrats care more for the interests of their party than for the safety of the lives of citizens? But I am still more anxious to know, and to know from gentlemen of the South who can speak with knowledge and by authority, whether this is a sporadic case of murder, or whether it is a symptom which indicates a general condition of feeling in their section. My anxiety is to know whether this instance indicates a settled purpose to declare that black men shall not be legally organized into militia companies, shall not parade peaceably in the streets under arms, shall not be allowed all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens of the United States of whatever color. That, Mr. Chairman, is my great anxiety in regard to this case.

We fought a great war to establish the Union and the equal rights of citizens before the law; and I wish we could lay aside all the bitterness of that contest; but I say distinctly to gentlemen from the South that the era of our good feeling can never be ushered in in its fullness until you let us know that the old spirit of caste and race which caused the war has been laid aside with the weapons we carried in the field; and until a black man, while he behaves himself, lawfully and peaceably shall enjoy all the rights, all the privileges, all the protection, and all the guarantees of the Constitution that a white man enjoys in all our States. When that is done, we can shake hands in full assurance of peace, and can hang the olive branch over all our doors; until that time comes, we must keep watch with that eternal vigilance which is the price not only of liberty but of equal justice to all citizens.

Mr. LAMAR. Mr. Chairman, I do not propose to discuss or analyze this terrible and disgraceful affair at Hamburgh, although I think that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Garfield] has not given a fair and impartial statement of the circumstances in which it originated. But those circumstances are of no moment here upon this question, nor are the provocations which led to the final fearful tragedy involved in the proposition now before us. Nor are they, in my opinion, (and here I differ with the member from Ohio,) the legitimate topic of debate or discussion on this floor; they belong to another tribunal, to which the constitutions of States as well as that of the Federal Government remit these subjects.

Whether in the circumstances and these provocations the whites or the blacks were most to blame is a question to which I shall not now recur. Through all the confusion which has been thrown around this transaction, (and I must say, notwith-

standing the honorable character of the informant of the member from South Carolina, which I do not question in the slightest degree, his document was evidently written, and perhaps very naturally, under great exasperation and excitement,) through all the uncertainty which exasperation and exaggerations have thrown around this subject, there is one fact which gleams out acknowledged, or, if not acknowledged, is indisputable. It is that a body of white men did, without authority of law, put to death a number of black men, who had been taken as prisoners; I mean who had been captured and deprived of their liberty, but who were not prisoners in the legal sense of the term, inasmuch as those capturing them had no right under the law to deprive them of their personal liberty.

Now, sir, I wish to say here in my place—and what I say here just as it drops from my lips and falls upon the reporter's notes is at once sent throughout the entire South, and every constituent of mine, in every home and hamlet, will read what I say; and even if I were base or ignoble enough to utter here what I would swerve from there, as has been falsely charged against Southern men, the Record would always convict me—in my place here and with the responsibilities surrounding me, I assert that no excuse or palliation can possibly be found for these outrages and this barbarism. [Applause.]

As a Southern man and as a Democrat, I have a remark or two to make upon this subject. Mr. Chairman, we of the South have a lawless class precisely as you of the North have lawless classes. As a consequence we have riots in which human life is lost precisely as you have such riots, with this difference: Ours without preconcert flame up in different localities and are confined to short periods of time, while yours in more than one instance have held several counties in terror, have extended over months of time, and have involved a larger loss of human life, defying the authorities of your States.

Mr. CONGER. I move that the committee rise in order that the time may be extended.

Mr. SCHLEICHER. I gave the longest time that was asked for. Twenty minutes had been agreed upon; but at the suggestion of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Garfield] it was extended to thirty minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Discussion is not in order.

Mr. SCHLEICHER. If we keep on extending the time for discussion it will go over until to-morrow, and I do not know how much longer, for, sir, the time never will be in this when some member does not wish to speak.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan moves that the committee rise for the purpose of extending the time for debate on the first section of the pending bill.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 101, noes 43.

So the motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and the Speaker *pro tempore* having resumed the chair, Mr. Monroe reported that the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union had, according to order, had under consideration the joint resolution (H. R. No. 96) to provide for the protection of the Texas frontier on the Lower Rio Grande, and had come to no resolution thereon.

Mr. SCHLEICHER obtained the floor.

Mr. CONGER. The committee rose for a special object on my motion, and I insist that I am entitled to the floor.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair is supposed to know nothing of what takes place in committee. The gentleman from Texas is entitled to the floor.

Mr. CONGER. I believe the Chair was present when my motion was made and when it was carried by a vote of the committee.

Mr. SCHLEICHER. I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union; and pending that motion I move that all further debate on the first section of the pending bill and amendments thereto be limited to ten minutes.

Mr. CONGER. I move to amend that by extending the time for debate to one hour, giving the first five minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Lamar] who was on the floor at the time the debate closed.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HALE. It is understood by these gentlemen that it is to be divided up into five-minute speeches.

Mr. CONGER. Yes; under the five-minute rule.

Mr. LAMAR. In view of the evident difficulty we are getting into, I will say that I do not wish to prosecute my remarks.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. All this discussion is unnecessary and out of order.

The House divided on Mr. CONGER's amendment; and there were—ayes 74, noes 129.

Mr. CONGER. I demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. KASSON. I will move to make it twenty minutes.

Mr. CONGER. I demand the yeas and nays on my proposition.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 37, noes 137.

So (one-fifth having voted in the affirmative) the yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HOSKINS. In view of the lateness

of the session I ask we may compromise this matter by allowing thirty minutes for debate.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. That can only be done by unanimous consent.

Mr. CONGER. I prefer to have the yeas and nays on my motion.

The question was taken: and decided in the negative—yeas 67, nays 126, not voting 93.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Schleicher] that when the House again resolves itself into Committee of the Whole all debate on the pending section and amendments be closed in ten minutes.

Mr. CONGER. I move to amend that by making the time forty minutes. I ask the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Schleicher] to accept that proposition.

Mr. HANCOCK. We made one contract with you already and you would not stand by it.

Mr. RANDALL. The time was fixed by the request of that side of the House and that time has expired.

Mr. CONGER. When was it fixed?

Mr. RANDALL. This morning. The original time suggested by that side was twenty minutes, and the agreement was finally made at their request that there should be thirty minutes. What they asked was acceded to, showing that there has been no disposition to cut off debate.

Mr. CONGER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania cannot deny that there has been a disposition to cut off debate. We have asked an hour, or forty minutes, or thirty minutes, and that is refused with a strong hand.

Mr. RANDALL. This is brought in to excite bad feeling. We want to preserve peace.

Mr. CONGER. The gentleman does not want us to discuss particular subjects. That is the trouble. I will modify my amendment and move to strike out ten minutes and insert thirty minutes; and upon that I call for the yeas and nays.

On the question of ordering the yeas and nays there were ayes 47.

So (the affirmative being more than one-fifth of the last vote) the yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MILLS. I suggest that we compromise on fifteen minutes and give it all to the gentleman from Michigan.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The proposition of the gentleman from Texas is not in order It can only be entertained by unanimous consent.

The question was taken on Mr. CONGER'S amendment, and there were—yeas 73, nays 111, not voting 102.

So Mr. CONGER'S amendment was not agreed to.

Mr. SCHLEICHER. I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union upon the Texas border bill, and pending that motion I move that all debate upon the first section and amendment thereto be closed in twenty-five minutes, and on that motion I move the previous question.

The question was taken on Mr. Schleicher's motion, and on a division there were—ayes 119, noes 30.

So the motion was agreed to.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. Monroe in the chair,) and resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. R. No. 96) to provide for the protection of the Texas frontier on the Lower Rio Grande.

Mr. KASSON. Mr. Chairman, for the first time during this debate the House has heard from a gentleman of the opposition a distinct, direct, and pointed condemnation of this most serious and alarming outrage upon human life, human liberty, and constitutional rights.

Mr. LAMAR. The gentleman is mistaken. I only repeated what my gifted friend from Georgia [Mr. Hartridge] said.

Mr. KASSON. The gentleman from Georgia "deplored" the outrage. I failed to hear him condemn the men who were involved in its commission.

Mr. HARTRIDGE. The gentleman will allow me a word?

Mr. KASSON. The gentleman must excuse me, as my time is so short. Even the gentleman from Mississippi was not able to close his eloquent denunciation of the outrage without impliedly turning the responsibility for these riots and outrages upon the Republican element in the South.

Let us come to the point before this House under debate. On the Fourth day of July last a militia company was assembled in the streets of Hamburgh, South Carolina, celebrating the anniversary of their national independence and ours. They were lawfully observing it, when two young white men got into a quarrel with them; but the day closed without disaster. On the following day an armed organization from Georgia, where the chief criminals yet remain, invaded the State of South Carolina and committed murderous outrages which are certified in the report of the attorney-general of South Carolina over the signature of Governor Chamberlain, which report I now hold in my hand. The question is, were these militiamen violating the law when they were attacked? Had this militia company the right to assemble and parade on the national holiday? Your Constitution tells you, in the second amendment to it, that—

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

And yet the gentleman, General Butler, who is commended as a noble exponent of chivalry, (and his personal character may be all that his friends claim,) proposed, as is admitted, that the arms borne by this militia company should be surrendered to unauthorized persons, and to deprive the militia of South Carolina of the right secured to them by the Constitution of the United States. And then from the first proposition to violate a constitutional right they went on to other and more serious violations of constitutional rights and liberties, even to the taking of prisoners who were lawfully in the militia company, and not only that, but disarming them of the arms they had a lawful right to hold. And not only that; "let the angels weep, but let honest men do more than deplore;" let them condemn with all the energy of which human nature is capable; they told these prisoners to run, and as they ran from them they "chivalrously" amused themselves by shooting them down, and even in two instances mutilating their dead bodies.

And when the gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. Smalls,] whose State and district have thus been invaded and outraged, brings the matter to the attention of this House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Cox] calls it bad in morals, bad in motive, and charges that it is brought in here for a bad political purpose. Sir, the Democratic party did not always take this position. In 1840 they declared in their national platform:

That every citizen of every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges and to complete an ample protection of person and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

They re-enacted that in their platforms until 1864. But when there came to be citizens of another color, citizens who were dependent, ignorant, poor, and needing protection, the Democratic party commenced leaving out of their platforms this principle of the right of the citizen to protection in person and in property. I stand here, independent of all party on this question, to say that, be the wronged citizens white men of Texas or black men of South Carolina, this great Republic of 44,000,000 of people owes all its energy and all its power to protect all citizens of this country against outrages upon liberty and life such as have been perpetrated in this case. This is what the gentlemen from South Carolina [Mr. Smalls] has asserted, as is his right. And I rise here to defend him and the race he represents against being laughed out of this tribunal of the nation and from the presence of the American people when they bring their complaints before them and demand redress and protection in the name of humanity and of constitutional right.

Mr. HALE. Mr. Chairman, this House has presented this morning a remarkable spectacle. This has been no ebullition of sentiment. The subject-matter before us has been nothing of fancy. It has come up from no desire to "shake the bloody shirt." The gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. Smalls,] representing a defrauded and murdered race, has offered a practical amendment to the bill before the House, a perfectly germane amendment to a bill which proposes to regulate the movements of the United States Army. The amendment is in these words:

Provided, That no troops for the purpose named in this section shall be withdrawn from the State of South Carolina so long as the militia of that State, peacefully assembled, are assaulted, disarmed, taken prisoners, and then massacred in cold blood by lawless bands of men invading that State from the State of Georgia.

The circumstances calling out this amendment are that at least six men, citizens of the United States, equal citizens with you, sir, and me and the leaders upon the other side; men whom we have undertaken to clothe with all the high privileges and rights that spring from our Constitution and laws; men whom we have made fellow-citizens with us have been wantonly and foully murdered. And yet the majority of this House upon a deliberate roll-call have refused to allow sixty minutes debate upon this subject of the slaughter of our fellow-citizens. Why, sir, the taking of the life of a single British subject, entitled to the protection of the British flag, has forced entrance to the House of Commons and has there dominated all other subjects for weeks and months. And the French Assembly has again and again debated for days and weeks upon the wrongs of a single French citizen. This tenderness for the life and property of the citizen has been the common pride of every legislative body that has ever been known to the civilized world. And yet the majority of this House decline to give an hour for debate to this overweening, overmastering subject, or inquiry into the causes which led to the murder of these six men and for discussion of the means by which we may prevent like occurrences by the presence of United States armed forces.

The gentleman from Georgia asks why do these things continue to occur? Let me tell him that they will continue just as long as members on that side of the Chamber rise as one man to stamp down the discussion of these atrocities. Let me tell him that so long as the Democratic party are led by men in whose neighborhood these scenes are enacted, and who have nothing but good words for the actors in the terrible drama, the raiders and murderers in Georgia and South Carolina will go high-handed on their bloody work, and will, as they believe, be protected in it.

Sir, these is something to do besides invoking sentiment and quoting poetry, as has been done in this case. I charge upon the gentleman from Mississippi, [Mr.

Lamar,] who has a philosophical, speculative mind, and has human sympathies; who sees the wrong and infamy of these things—[here the hammer fell]—I charge upon that gentleman who has been twice chosen by his constituents a Representative in this House, and has been further endorsed by election to a seat in the Senate—I charge upon him the responsibility, not of the acts themselves, but of putting a stop to these things in his State. I charge upon the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Hartridge] that he and his associates must stop them there. [Here the hammer again fell.] I charge upon the leaders of the dominant party in all the Southern States that they must stop these murders. [Cries of "Order!"]

Mr. LAMAR. I have discharged my responsibility in part by defeating the authors of such disorders in my State.

Mr. MACKEY, of South Carolina. Mr. Chairman, in connection with the subject now under discussion the gentleman from New York [Mr. Cox] has seen fit to denounce South Carolina as one of the worst-governed States in the Union. For this assertion there is no foundation whatever, and instead of South Carolina being badly governed at present she has a better government to-day than she has had for years. I would like to remind the gentleman of this fact, of which he seems to be entirely ignorant, that to-day the only question dividing the Democracy of South Carolina is whether or not they shall nominate as their candidate the man who is now the Republican Governor of our State. If the present government of South Carolina is so bad and corrupt, why are the Democrats discussing the propriety of making the head of that government their candidate in the next election? It is an indisputable fact that should Governor Chamberlain again be the nominee of the Republican party he will receive hundreds of Democratic votes. Many of the leading Democrats in the State know this, and hence they argue that it would be inexpedient to nominate a Democratic candidate should Chamberlain receive the Republican nomination. At one time the State government of South Carolina may have been exceedingly bad, but such is not the present condition of affairs. Taxes have been reduced, assessments lowered, corrupt officials removed, and numerous reforms inaugurated, and the vast improvement in the government is fully recognized by two-thirds of the Democratic papers in the State. Quotations from Pike's Prostrate State have no application whatever to the present condition of affairs in our State. This much I have deemed it necessary to say in refutation of the assertion that South Carolina is to-day the worst-governed State in the Union.

Mr. HOGE. I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, in rising to speak upon this question I will say that I had hoped the occasion would not have arisen at this late period, when I as a member of Congress should be called upon to rise in my place and speak upon the subject that is now occupying the attention of the House. I was in hopes that the time had passed in South Carolina when these outrages, these deeds of blood and murder could never occur again. I was in hopes they were forever passed.

I can remember, Mr. Chairman, that in 1868, during the memorable election in the third congressional district, which I had the honor to represent on this floor, there were nearly three hundred of our citizens that were murdered; so that this outrage that has been perpetrated in Edgefield is nothing new in the history of South Carolina. Over three hundred of my constituents at that time suffered loss of life by adhering to and advocating the principles of the Republican party. But while this state of affairs has existed, I do not want to make the statement to-day to this House, nor do I believe it, that even in South Carolina all the white men who belong to the Democratic party are in favor of the murderers. I do not believe that. On the contrary, I know there are many men in our State that belong to that party who are as much opposed to these deeds of blood and violence as I am.

But I do state to-day, and I stated from the knowledge that I have gained from experience, after nearly eleven years's residence in South Carolina, and having been intimately connected with the politics of that State during that time—I do state that there is an element in the Democratic party either controlled or partly controlled by the men who headed the band of murderers at Hamburgh, a party headed by such men as General M. C. Butler and General Geary, and men of that class, who by their acts and their words, by their counsel to the people who do these deeds of blood, urged them on to commit these great crimes. While perhaps General Butler would be too much of a gentleman or too honorable a man to shoot a negro if he had told him to run off, for the mere pleasure of seeing him fall, yet by his advice these dirty scoundrels and murderers who did that shooting were actuated and encouraged to do these deeds of blood; it was by just such men as Butler and Geary, of Edgefield County. Those are the men who advocated and recommended this outrage upon the colored people; and it was simply because they are members of the Republican party, because they cannot control their suffrages and get them to put them in office by their votes. They say to them, "You have to act with the Democratic party in South Carolina, or we will make you do it." The edict has gone forth that a black man in South Carolina

must either vote the Democratic ticket in the future or follow in the footsteps of those who fell at Hamburgh. It has placed my distinguished friend from Mississippi —no, I do not know that he would allow me to call him that—it has placed him in a position to obtain a seat upon this floor, to be elected to the Senate. He says that they have peace in Mississiqpi and in Arkansas. So they have; but it is the peace of the grave; it is the lasting peace to the colored man and to the white man who dares to advocate those great principles of civil and religious liberty that have been advocated by the leaders of our party—principles which came down to us from our forefathers, and which it is our duty to perpetuate and hand down to our children as a sacred heritage.

Mr. HOGE. I withdraw the formal amendment.

Mr. FOSTER. I renew it. I have a word to say on this subject to gentlemen from the South. It has been my good or bad fortune politically (I do not know which) to join other gentlemen in a report on Louisiana affairs in which the truth was told when it bore heavily on my party friends. I denounced the fraud of the returning board of Louisiana, and joined heartily with Mr. Wheeler in bringing about the compromise that bears his name. I have never failed to denounce my party when I found it in the wrong.

I concede that you have had bad government in some of the Southern States, perhaps in South Carolina, though I doubt it now. Under Governor Chamberlain the government of South Carolina has greatly improved.

If I know myself, I have none but the kindest feeling for the people of the South. I long to see the day when peace shall reign throughout your borders, when prosperity shall bless all your undertakings. I long to see the day when we shall hear no more of the color line, when every man, be he black or white, shall be in the full, unrestrained possession of every right vouchsafed to him by the Constitution and the laws.

I cannot, however, close my eyes to scenes of horror and bloodshed, of which the Hamburgh massacre is a sample; scenes and outrages that would disgrace the savage.

Talk not to me about your chevaliers, your men of high honor, when they stand by and witness (and, as I believe, encourage) the barbarities of Hamburgh.

Are Mississippi outrages and tactics to be transplanted to South Carolina? Did you sell out the solid vote of the South to Tilden; and do you propose to ratify your bargain by scenes of bloody barbarity, a parallel of which can only be found in the South where you prate so much of honor and high breeding?

Let me tell you, gentlemen of Georgia, that it lies within your power to stop these infernal outrages. Be as active in hunting out the human fiends who crossed the bridge at Augusta, Georgia, to Hamburgh, South Carolina, with artillery to shell out of the citadel the forty negroes that could not be dislodged by hundreds of armed whites from your State and the State of South Carolina. See that they are caught and punished.

Mr. COOK. What evidence is there that a single man went from Georgia?

Mr. CONGER. I call the gentleman to order.

Mr. COOK. These men never went from the State of Georgia.

Mr. FOSTER. They did. General Butler admits it.

Mr. COOK. No, sir.

Mr. FOSTER. When you have caught and punished these men then sing to us a panegyric to the vindication of outraged law, instead of talking to us about noble blood. Ay, a nobility that murders in cold blood a captured negro.

If you gentlemen have not the influence to stop these outrages you are not fit to be Representatives in the American Congress. You can do it if you will. When you have tried and have succeeded you will hear the most welcome shout of "Well done, good and faithful servants" that has been heard since the dawn of Christendom. We will fall on your necks and rejoice.

[Laughter on the Democratic side of the House and cries of "O, no!"

Mr. COOK. You must not fall on my neck; you have fallen on our property and on our rights as it is, and now you want to fall on our necks. [Laughter.]

Mr. FOSTER. We did fall on you, and you remember the fall.

Stretch out your hands in charity to God's poor whom you have with you. Give them to understand by every act of yours that you recognize their complete political rights. Wipe out all distinctions in your laws on account of color.

Let them feel and know that their old masters are their friends, and that they will if need be fight the world in arms to preserve their liberty, notwithstanding it was obtained against the masters' will.

Your professions will not do. These barbarities must cease. If they do not you must expect that the power of the Government will be exerted to its full limit if need be to protect the humblest African in your midst.

Lay not the flattering unction to your souls that because you can give Tilden a united vote he will be elected.

The instrumentalities used to bring about a United South for Tilden will as certainly give the North to Hayes.

We are as tired of Southern misrule as you are. This misrule is not a one-sided matter South as well as North. The rascals hunt in pairs, as they do in the North.

When you catch a Belknap you catch a Pendleton with him. [Laughter and cries of "O! O!" on the Democratic side of the House.] So in the South, the stealings are divided between the parties.

I beseech and implore you, men of the South, to stop these outrages upon the black man, thus restoring confidence in you in the North, and then henceforth we will dwell together in unity, peace, and good-will. The horrors of the war will be forgotten. Then we will go hand in hand exalting and glorifying the Republic.

Doc Adams's Statement—The Story of the Two-Hour's Siege, and how he with a Detachment of his Company Escaped from the Armory.

[From our special correspondent.]

AIKEN, SOUTH CAROLINA, *July* 12.

I send you a statement of Doc L. Adams, the captain of the militia company, just as it has been given by him. He saw a part of the affair and was quite an interested party. Here is his statement:

I am captain of Company A, Eighteenth Regiment National Guard of the State of South Carolina, which company has been stationed at Hamburgh; in fact it was made up there from the citizens of the town and vicinity.

On Saturday, the 8th day of July, about half-past four o'clock, General Butler, with about thirty or forty men, assembled at the office of Trial-Justice Rivers, in Hamburgh. The occasion of this was because at that hour the trial of the militia officers was to take place. I went to Trial-Justice Rivers and stated to him that I and the other officers of the company did not want to be tried before him that evening, and that we would give bond for our appearance before the circuit court. My reason for saying this to him was because I had heard threats made against myself and others by the forty or more armed men who were crowded round Rivers's office. On making this statement to Rivers he told me I could use my own judgment about the matter, as he was of the opinion himself that it would be unsafe for myself and the other officers to be tried at that time. I having concluded not to go to the court, a committee came from General Butler for me to meet him at the house of S. B. Spencer, where a hundred or more armed white men were congregated. I refused to go, believing my life would be unsafe. The white men were armed with revolvers and sixteen-shooters. I then made the proposition that if General Butler would meet me half way and keep his men back I would meet him, and we would try and settle the matter without any trouble. This General Butler refused positively to do, and sent a message to the effect that the arms of the company and the officers must be given up to him, and that he would not guarantee any protection whatever even if the arms and officers were surrendered. I refused to agree to this, as I saw if I did my men and myself would be at the mercy of General Butler and his men. I then, to preserve the lives of my men and myself, took refuge in a brick building we used as an armory. There were thirty-eight of us in all. We had hardly got in and secured the entrance before General Butler's men opened fire on us. At this time General Butler had about two hundred men. They kept up a brisk fire on the building for over half an hour before we fired one shot from the building. General Butler's men were posted under the trestle of the Charlotte, Columbia and Augusta Railroad and under the abutment of the bridge of the same company. This was between six and seven o'clock p. m. We remained in the building until about eight o'clock.

My reasons for leaving was because I heard threats made by General Butler's men to blow the building up, and to send to Augusta for cannon, and I knew we could not hold it if either of these means were resorted to. After getting out of the building with my men the company divided, and I took command of one portion and gave Lieutenant Attaway command of the other. The number with me amounted to about a dozen or so of men; Attaway had twenty-one. I went to the left of the building with my men and escaped. Attaway and his men were captured. This is all that I can speak of positively, as when I made my escape I and the portion of men with me came right on to Aiken. At the time I left I think there were four or five hundred men under General Butler, with re-enforcements coming in from Augusta and Edgefield. Between twelve and one o'clock at least two thousand men were present, armed to the teeth. I left for Aiken about three o'clock Sunday morning.

DOC L. ADAMS,
Capt. Co. A, Eighteenth Regt. N. G. S. S. C.

The above statement is signed with Adams' own signature. He seems to be a man of some intelligence, and as "mild-mannered" as possible. He gave the statement without hesitation, and in a manner which convinced me of his sincerity.

C. McK.

PRINCE RIVERS' STATEMENT.

The testimony was closed at this point, and though many other witnesses were waiting this was deemed sufficient. The verdict has not yet been rendered.

Prince Rivers made the following written statement in substance to Attorney General Stone to-day:

On the affidavit of one Robert Butler he issued warrants as trial justice for Doc Adams and the other commissioned officers of a militia company in the town of Hamburgh for obstructing the highway and preventing the said Robert Butler from passing. This was on the 5th of July, 1876. Owing to some confusion taking place in this office on the said day he postponed the trial till Saturday, the 8th, at 4 p. m., at which time General M. C. Butler appeared as counsel for Robert Butler. During the said trial M. C. Butler asked for more time, which was granted, he, Butler, promising to be ready within an hour; but he never returned to Rivers' office any more, but went to Augusta and returned with two companies of soldiers and demanded the immediate surrender of the arms in the possession of the militia to him. After some talk with Rivers he, General Butler, granted them a half hour to comply with his terms. Rivers then went to the drill room of the company and consulted with the men who were there assembled to get them to give up their arms sooner than have bloodshed. This they refused to do, saying that General Butler had no authority to make them give up their arms. The time having expired General Butler gave the order for the troops under him to fire, which they did, and said fire was not returned by the militia for some time. Butler told me he would have the arms or burn the town. I, Rivers, offered to box the guns and send them to Chamberlain, but Butler would not agree to this.

THE HAMBURGH RIOT—OFFICIAL REPORT OF ATTORNEY-GENERAL STONE.

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
COLUMBIA, S. C., July 12, 1876.

SIR: According to your request of Monday last I have visited Hamburgh for the purpose of ascertaining the facts connected with the killing of several men there on the night of the 8th of July.

My information has been derived chiefly from Trial-Justice Rivers, and from the testimony of persons who have been examined before the coroner's jury, now in session, and from those who received wounds from the armed body of white men who had taken them prisoners.

From this information the following facts seem to be clearly established:

During the administration of Governor Scott a company of State militia was organized at Hamburgh, of which Prince Rivers was captain. This

company was known as Company A, Ninth Regiment, National Guard of the State of South Carolina: Arms were at that time furnished to it, and some ammunition. This company, previous to May, 1876, had for some time but few names on its roll, drilled rarely, and scarcely kept alive its organization. But in May of this year the number of members increased to about eighty, and one Doc Adams was chosen captain.

On the 4th of July the company drilled on one of the public streets in the town of Hamburgh. The street on which they drilled was between one hundred and one hundred and fifty feet wide, but it was little used, and was overgrown with grass, except in that portion which was used as a carriage road. While the company was thus drilling Thomas Butler and Henry Getzen, his brother-in-law, came along in a carriage and demanded that the company should make way for them. Adams halted the company, remonstrated with Butler and Getzen for thus seeking to interfere with the company, and called their attention to the fact that there was plenty of room on each side of the company to pass.

Finding them unwilling to turn out of their course, Adams finally opened ranks and allowed them to drive through.

This incident seemed to have angered Butler and Getzen, who made complaint before Trial-Justice Rivers against the militia company for obstructing the highway. The trial justice on the following day issued a warrant against Adams, as he was the captain of the company, and had him brought before him for trial. During the progress of the trial Adams was arrested by the trial justice for contempt of court, and subsequently the case was continued until four o'clock Saturday afternoon, July 8.

At that time Butler and Getzen, with General M. C. Butler, who had been employed by Robert J. Butler, father of the former, as their attorney, repaired to the office of the trial justice, but Adams did not appear.

General Butler inquired as to the nature of the charges against Adams, and asked if the trial justice was to hear the case as trial justice or in his official capacity of major-general of militia.

To this the trial justice replied that he was to hear the case as a trial justice, but if the facts showed that a military offense had been committed, Adams would have to be tried by a court-martial.

General Butler then stated that he thought the case might be arranged, and at his suggestion time was given him to see the parties.

After this the trial justice did not see General Butler at his office, but learned that he had gone over to Augusta.

In the mean time the trial justice had been informed that some two hundred or three hundred armed white men were in Hamburgh, and that a demand had been made by them that the militia should surrender their arms. After a consultation with Messrs. Jefferson and Spencer, Rivers sent for General Butler. He rode up to the back gate of Rivers's house. The two had a conversation, in which General Butler said that he had given orders to have the guns given up in half an hour, and the time was nearly up.

Rivers asked if some other arrangement could not be made, to which General Butler replied in the negative.

Rivers then asked if he would not consent to have him receive the arms, box them up, and send them to the governor. To which General Butler replied that he would box them up and send them to the governor, and if he, the governor, should return them to the company it would be at his own risk. Rivers then asked if they would give a bond for the arms, to which General Butler said that he would stand the bond, and turning to another person—I think R. J. Butler—asked if he would not go on a bond also, to which he replied that he would.

Rivers then asked for time before fire should be opened on the militia, so that he might have a conference with the militia officers. This was acceded to, and Rivers then went to the building known as the Sibley building, in the second story of which the company had its armory and drill-room, and where it was then assembled, and told Captain Adams what might be expected if he should refuse to give up the arms. To this Adams replied that General Butler had no right to the guns; that the company held them, and he proposed to hold them, unless General Butler showed some authority to take them.

After this interview Rivers returned to General Butler, with whom was Robert J. Butler. He told them the decision to which the company had come. Then Robert J. Butler said that General Butler was his attorney; that he had come to settle the matter. If the company would apologize for the insult to his son and son-in-law he would do nothing more. But the whole matter was in General Butler's hands. General Butler said that, as the men would not meet him, he would have no more to do with them. General Butler was asked by Rivers if he would guarantee the safety of the town should the militia surrender their arms. He said that would depend on how the men behaved themselves afterward.

This statement is confirmed by S. P. Pixley.

While these negotiations were going on the armed body of white men in the town were concentrated on the bank of the river near the Sibley building. Soon after they were broken off firing began. Men who were in the building say that it was commenced by the whites firing upon the building. Adams gave his orders not to shoot until he directed them to. The company had very little ammunition, and all they had was a portion of that issued to the company when it was first organized.

After the firing had begun it was returned by the militia, and one of the attacking party, McKie Merriweather, was shot through the head and instantly killed. After this a piece of artillery, said to belong to the Washington Artillery, of Augusta, was brought over from Augusta and four charges of canister were fired from it upon the armory, but without injuring any one. The persons in the armory escaped from the rear by means of ladders, and hid in under floors of adjacent buildings, or wherever else they could find shelter.

The first man killed by the whites was James Cook, town marshal. He had been in the armory, but was not a member of the company. He had gone into the street from the rear of the Sibley building, and was at once fired on and fell dead instantly, pierced by five or six bullets.

Afterward the whites began their search for the members of the company. They succeeded in getting about twenty-five colored men as prisoners, some of whom were never members of the company. As fast as the men were captured they were taken to a place near the South Carolina Railroad, where a large party of armed men stood guard over them.

None of those thus captured had arms in their hands.

Subsequently, and at about two o'clock a. m., six men took A. T. Attaway out of the "ring." He and his mother begged for his life, but in vain. He was then told to turn round, and was shot to death by the crowd.

David Phillips was next taken out and was similarly killed.

Pompey Curry was next called out. He recognized among the bystanders Henry Getzen and Dr. Pierce Butler, and called on them to keep the other men from killing him. He ran, and was shot at as he ran, one bullet striking him in the right leg below the knee.

Afterward Albert Myniard, Moses Parks, and Hampton Stevens were killed. Stevens did not belong to the company. Nelder John Parker, who has been commonly referred to in the newspaper reports as John Thomas, was corporal in the company.

When he was arrested and taken to the spot where the other prisoners were, he recognized among the party two gentlemen of Augusta, named Twiggs and Chaffee. He appealed to them for protection. They said he should not be hurt. He states that General M. C. Butler asked him if he was one of the d—d rascals. The reply was in the affirmative. He was then shot in the back. Messrs. Twiggs and Chaffee then said if he was shot again they would shoot the ones who did it. They took him off, and had him taken to Augusta. He was shot before Attaway was killed. He may recover from his wounds.

One Butler Edwards was taken as a prisoner. He says he was taken before General Butler, who at that time was in the street near the Sibley building. This was about twelve o'clock.

Threats were made to shoot him. General Butler directed that he be taken to the others. He recognized among the crowd one Captain Carwile and —— Dunbar, of Augusta; said he had a long talk with the former. He was among the prisoners who were let loose and told to run: as they ran they were fired at and he was shot in the head. He was not a member of the company.

Willis Davis, one of the members of the company, was taken to the place where were the other prisoners. The men stated that John Swaringer, of Edgefield county, had charge of the prisoners. He states that he saw General Butler before the men were killed, who asked him what he was doing, and told him he would have enough of it before he got through. He was shot in the arm, near the elbow, when about twenty paces distant from the crowd. The ball is still in his arm, and he suffers much pain. He also states that some of the young men from Georgia remonstrated against shooting the prisoners, but in vain.

Besides the killing and wounding of the men herein named the party broke open several stores and houses and, in some instances, robbed the inmates. They took from Mr. Charles Roil, the postmaster, and a very respectable white citizen, a gun which he had in his store, and his private property. From an old colored man named Jacob Samuels, in his employ, they took a watch and set fire to his house. They broke open the house of Trial-Justice Rivers and did much damage, as well as robbed him of clothing. They obtained kerosene oil and attempted to set fire to a house, but were prevented by Colonel A. P. Butler from doing so. The ropes of the public wells were cut and some fences were torn down.

So far as I can learn the primary object of the whites was to take away from the militia their arms.

The man Parker, who was wounded, states that on Friday, the 7th instant, he had a long talk with one Harrison Butler (white) on Broad street, Augusta. Butler told him that if Rivers did not give orders for the militia to give up their arms they would take them any way on the next day.

On Saturday rumors were abroad in Hamburgh that there were armed parties coming in to take the guns, but little credit was attached to them.

One of the white citizens of Hamburgh heard a conversation between David Phillips and General Butler in the afternoon. Phillips talked very "big," as the gentleman said, and General Butler told him that they wanted those guns and were bound to have them.

In the afternoon Colonel A. P. Butler went to the various stores in town and told the proprietors that they must not sell any liquor to his men. In spite of this, however, some of the men compelled one of the storekeepers to furnish them liquor. From the same person they obtained kerosene oil to use in setting fire to a house.

The whites were armed with guns and small arms of various kinds, and many of them had axes and hatchets.

It is proper to state that the intendant of Hamburgh, Mr. Gardner, was informed by General Butler, in an interview with him, that the arms of the company must be given up.

Trial-Justice Rivers is now holding an inquest and taking testimony of witnesses. Until their verdict is rendered, it will be impossible to tell who were engaged in the attack on the militia and the subsequent killing and wounding of the colored men.

It may be possible that a careful judicial investigation may show some slight errors in some of the minor details stated in this report. But making due allowance for such errors, the facts show the demand on the militia to give up their arms was made by persons without lawful authority to enforce such demand or to receive the arms had they been surrendered; that the attack on the militia to compel a compliance with this demand was without lawful excuse or justification; and that after there had been some twenty or twenty-five prisoners captured and completely in the power of their captors, and without means of making further resistance, five of them were deliberately shot to death and three more severely wounded.

It further appears that, not content with thus satisfying their vengeance, many of the crowd added to their guilt the crime of robbery of defenseless people, and were only prevented from arson by the efforts of their own leaders.

Yours, very respectfully,

WILLIAM STONE,
Attorney-General South Carolina.

Hon. D. H. CHAMBERLAIN, *Governor.*

PROTECTION OF TEXAS FRONTIER.

SPEECH OF HON. ROBERT SMALLS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JULY 8, 1876.

Mr. SCHLEICHER. I now renew my motion that the House resolve itself into the committee of the whole on the state of the Union for the purpose of resuming the consideration of the joint resolution (H. R. No. 96) to provide for the protection of the Texas frontier on the Lower Rio Grande. Pending that motion I move that all debate on the pending section and the amendments thereto be limited to twenty minutes.

Mr. SMALLS. I ask the gentleman to allow a little more time. Twenty minutes will allow only ten minutes for each side. I hope the gentleman will agree to give at least an hour.

Mr. GARFIELD. I trust the gentleman from Texas will at least consent to allow thirty minutes. I think that will be satisfactory.

Mr. SCHLEICHER. I accept the suggestion of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Garfield] and modify my motion accordingly.

The motion to limit debate in committee of the whole upon the pending section and amendments thereto to thirty minutes was agreed to.

The question recurring on the motion of Mr. Schliecher that the House resolve itself into committee of the whole it was agreed to.

The House accordingly resolved itself into committee of the whole (Mr. Monroe

in the chair,) and resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. R. No. 96) to provide for the protection of the Texas frontier on the Lower Rio Grande.

The CHAIRMAN. When the committee rose it had under consideration an amendment to section 1, offered by the gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. Smalls,] which will be reported by the Clerk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Provided, That no troops for the purposes named in this section shall be drawn from the State of South Carolina so long as the militia of that State peaceably assembled are assaulted, disarmed and taken prisoners and then massacred in cold blood by lawless bands of men invading the State from the State of Georgia.

Mr. SMALLS. I offered that amendment and desire to say a word upon it.

The CHAIRMAN. Debate on the pending section and amendments thereto has been limited by the House to thirty minutes. Speeches have been made for and against the pending amendment, and it will be well for the gentleman therefore to preserve the proper order and submit an amendment to the amendment.

Mr. SMALLS. I move as a formal amendment to strike out the last word.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in offering the amendment which has been read by the Clerk I did it believing that the race to which I belong are being outrageously treated in the district I have the honor to represent upon this floor. Notwithstanding that, sir, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Cox] rose upon this floor and attempted to state to the House and to the country that I had introduced this matter for bad political purposes. If it has been the custom of the gentleman from New York to bring in matters here for bad political purposes, it is not so with me.

That gentleman early undertook to state to the House that South Carolina was the worst-governed State in the United States; that it was rotten to the core—rotten all round its borders. I agree with the gentleman from New York that South Carolina is rotten all round its borders, and for that very reason I have offered the amendment to this bill to cut off that rotten part all round South Carolina so as to let the core stand. It is those rotten parts which are troubling us. We are getting along all right ourselves.

He stated that I vouched for the author of that report. I state again to this House that that report which was read from the desk was signed by an honorable gentleman, a loyal gentleman, one who risked his life for the protection and defense of this Government. I say again I know that if I had given his name to this House in the next few hours it would have been known at Hamburgh, South Carolina, and I would not have given ten cents for his life, for General Butler, the gentleman who was attempted to be made a saint of in this House, would at once have organized another band of Ku-Klux and hunted him down.

I will tell the gentleman from New York that I was vouched for by nearly fourteen thousand majority of loyal men to this Government, and, sir, I will say men of my native State, the State of South Carolina, where I was born and reared. I will ask the gentleman in God's name who endorses him, whether the people of New York or the people of Ohio?

Mr. COX. Both of them. [Laughter.]

Mr. SMALLS. It is a good thing if the gentleman is endorsed by both of them. I do not desire to take up the time of the House, as gentlemen on that side have only seen fit to allow us ten minutes to debate on this question. Thank God, I hold in my hand the official investigation of the attorney-general of that State, and if that report does not place everything charged in that former letter upon General Butler's head, then I do not know how any man can be proved guilty of any crime within the borders of the United States.

I have nothing to say in reference to the complimentary remarks of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JONES] in regard to General Butler. General Butler might have been in the days he knew him everything he has stated in regard to him, but I can tell him that since General Butler left him he has either got into bad company or has been badly advised, for there has not been a row or riot in South Carolina since reconstruction in Edgefield that General Butler has not led; he has been the leader of every riot or outrage perpetrated upon the good people of that State.

Why, sir, this military company is a regularly organized body of the militia of that State. It was celebrating the Fourth of July, and men having no authority at all asked those men to give up their arms.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. SMALLS. I ask that the report of the attorney-general of the State of South Carolina be printed as a part of my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. SMALLS. Also the statement of the coroner and other papers.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair hears no objection.

The papers referred to are as follows:

(For these reports see pages 13, 14 and 15.)

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